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Will Jeane Kirkpatrick move up — or out?

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JEANE Kirkpatrick intends irrevocably to deliver her post-election resignation as ambassador to the United Nations after the fall General Assembly session, setting up a battle royal inside the administration over whether she will move up in a Reagan second term — or out.

Michael K. Deaver, President Reagan's deputy chief of staff, and other White House aides want her out (perhaps to

a prestigious exile as ambassador in Paris). But Reaganite Republicans regard her as the special protector of Ronald Reagan's ideological purity in international policy and, especially since her triumphant convention speech in Dallas, a possible vice-presidential candidate.

Because the result of that battle will set the national security mold for Reagan's second term, conservative

hard-liners have put Kirkpatrick's retention at the top of their second-term list, preferably as the first female secretary of state.

Reagan's well-known distaste for easing out George Shultz or any Cabinet member is thoroughly appreciated by Kirkpatrick's admirers. Their fallback post is Robert McFarlane's national security job in the White House, a natural launching pad for the

secretary's office if Shultz bows out as expected sometime in 1985.

When she has chosen to exercise it, Kirkpatrick's influence with the President can be profound — and that makes important enemies for her in high places. His intellectual affinity with her strong views on Israel, the Third World and especially the Soviet Union is resented both in the State Dept. and White House.

Such resentment has surfaced regularly over the past three years. Insiders confirmed to us that one senior White House aide politely warned her in person early last year that the President would make "peace" with the Soviets

before he left office; in that case, Jeane Kirkpatrick would have to be out of the administration before it happened. Why? Because her views on the Soviet Union were too unfriendly to accept any U.S.-Soviet deal.

Intimates say that although Mrs. Kirkpatrick was stunned and deeply upset by that conversation, she chose to ignore rather than pursue it. But the warning came back to haunt her last October when William P. Clark was eased out as national security adviser and dispatched to the Interior Dept. in hopes Reagan would replace him with chief of staff James Baker. Although Baker's

bid was blocked by hard-liners in the administration (Clark, CIA Director William Casey and Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger), they hit a brick wall in pushing for Kirkpatrick. Deaver and other critics vetoed her.

Since then, the administration's leading intellectual has expanded her political base among Reaganite conservatives without hardly trying and while remaining the Cabinet's only registered Democrat.

Dramatic evidence of that base was the reception accorded her opening-night speech at the Dallas convention. Her performance generated confidence that, if she becomes a Republican after

the election as key conservatives expect, she is equipped to be the 1988 vice presidential nominee.

She thrilled hard-liners by attacking her own party for "hiding its head in the sand" about the Soviet reality and "always blaming America first" — the best-received speech at the convention other than Reagan's own. That was a valedictory for four years at the UN, during which she has not masked frustration over the impotence of both the world organization and her own role as chief U.S. delegate.

But talks with delegates on the convention

floor made clear that despite her self-image of impotence, the Republican Party's dominant conservative wing places a high value on keeping her in the administration.

That value is confirmed to them by her attitude toward the continuing effort by Shultz and Deaver to finally bestow a peacemaker's image on Ronald Reagan by setting up talks with Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko during the UN General Assembly session before Election Day.

Those talks are viewed by Shultz and some political aides as giving Reagan the long-sought image of peace Deaver wants to adorn him with. Most administration officials who are skeptical keep their doubts to themselves, fearful of intruding on this high-level stratagem.

But not Jeane Kirkpatrick. She is too blunt to be silent inside the administration about her concern that a pre-election Reagan-Gromyko talk, however well-intentioned, could end up embarrassing both the President and the U.S. Similarly, she does not hide her opinion that the State Dept.'s well-advanced plan to cut a deal with Nicaragua's Marxist-Leninist dictatorship is scandalous.

It is just this quality that has galvanized those ideologically-committed Reaganites remaining in the administration to fight to keep her in at their side. Indeed, she has become the principal bearer of the torch picked up by Reagan in New Hampshire eight years ago when he challenged an entrenched Republican's foreign policy doctrine.